

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MANILA 15753 01 OF 02 071122Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----130767 071127Z /13  
R 070948Z SEP 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1275  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MANILA 15753

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PEPR, UR, RP  
SUBJECT: MRS. MARCOS' SOVIET INCLINATION

REF: STATE 217459

1. SUMMARY: MRS. MARCOS OBVIOUSLY FEELS GOOD ABOUT THE RUSSIANS AT THE MOMENT, BUT WE SEE NO EVIDENCE OF A MOVE BY THE PHILIPPINES TOWARD THE SOVIET CAMP. IN OUR VIEW, HER CURRENT TILT IS AT LEAST PARTLY A REACTION TO THE WOOING EXPERIENCED IN MOSCOW CONTRASTED TO THE ROUGH TREATMENT SHE RECEIVED FROM THE U.S. CONGRESS. SHE MAY ALSO BE STRIKING BACK AT THE CURRENT PRC LEADERSHIP FOR ITS TREATMENT OF MME. CHANG CHING, WITH WHOM SHE IDENTIFIED. WE THUS SEE HER STANCE AS IN LARGE PART A TACTIC TO GET BACK AT THE U.S. AND CHINA. WHILE WE DO NOT SEE THE SWING OF HER EMOTIONAL PENDULUM AS A SIGN THE LEADERSHIP HERE IS MOVING TOWARD THE SOVIET CAMP, SUCH SWINGS CAN HAVE EFFECT ON THOSE IN GOP OR PHIL SOCIETY WHO LOOK TO HER FOR GUIDANCE/INSPIRATION, INCLUDING YOUTH. END SUMMARY.

2. MRS. MARCOS WAS DEFINITELY IMPRESSED BY WHAT SHE SAW AND THE ATTENTION SHE RECEIVED DURING HER RECENT VISIT TO  
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PAGE 02 MANILA 15753 01 OF 02 071122Z

THE SOVIET UNION. (HER VISIT WAS PART OF A SOVIET EFFORT TO WOO THE GOP SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN 1976 AND THE ARRIVAL OF A SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN LATE 1977.) SHE MAY WELL FEEL GOOD ABOUT THE STROKING SHE RECEIVED IN MOSCOW, BUT WE DOUBT IT WILL LAST. SHE WAS EQUALLY EFFUSIVE ABOUT CHINA AND EVEN LIBYA WHEN SHE RETURNED FROM EARLIER VISITS TO THOSE COUNTRIES.

3. WE SEE NO EVIDENCE OF CONCRETE CONCESSIONS BY EITHER SIDE IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERGLOW OF THE VISIT. REGARDING SUGAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THE USSR HAS BOUGHT NO SUGAR AT ALL FROM THE PHILIPPINES THIS YEAR -- PARTLY, WE UNDERSTAND, BECAUSE THE SOVS ARE DISAPPOINTED AT THE LACK OF CORRESPONDING PURCHASES OF SOVIET EXPORTS AFTER MAJOR SUGAR PURCHASES IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, AND PARTLY BECAUSE THE PHILS WANT TO USE MOST OF THEIR NEW SUGAR QUOTA UNDER ISA TO SUPPLY THE PHILIPPINE-OWNED SUCREST REFINERY IN THE U.S. A REPORTED SOVIET OFFER TO SELL PETROLEUM TO THE PHILIPPINES, AND ANOTHER TO PROVIDE MILITARY HARDWARE, APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN TURNED DOWN. EVEN AS REGARDS THE RELATIVELY PRO-FORMA CULTURAL AGREEMENT, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WAS HARD BARGAINING OVER THE TERMS AND THAT GROMYKO DECIDED TO SIGN IT HIMSELF ONLY AT THE LAST MOMENT.

4. EQUALLY OR EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IN HER PERCEPTION OF HER TRIP, WE THINK, IS HER ANGER AND HUMILIATION AT THE "STRAIGHT TALK" SHE GOT FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON. SHE WAS NOT ADEQUATELY COMPENSATED, IN HER VIEW, BY THE COURTESIES SHE RECEIVED FROM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. SHE HAS CERTAINLY BEEN ENCOURAGED IN THIS BY HER ENTOURAGE, SOME OF WHOM ARE ANTI-AMERICAN AND FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD SOCIALIST CAUSES IN THE "RADICAL CHIC" CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MANILA 15753 01 OF 02 071122Z

TRADITION. QUITE POSSIBLY SHE SEES PUBLICLY COZYING UP TO THE RUSSIANS AS A WAY OF GETTING BACK AT THE AMERICANS. HER PERCEPTIONS IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARE FAR FROM PROFOUND, BUT HER FOCUS HAS ALWAYS BEEN ON THE UNITED STATES -- SHE DESPERATELY WANTS PERSONAL (AND NATIONAL) ACCEPTANCE AND ADULATION FROM US. WHEN SHE THINKS WE LET HER DOWN, SHE RETALIATES.

5. THERE ARE ALSO INDICATIONS THAT MRS. MARCOS IS DISPLEASED WITH THE CURRENT CHINESE REGIME. ONE OF HER PRINCIPAL HOSTS DURING VISITS TO PEKING WAS MME. CHANG CHING, WITH WHOM SHE APPARENTLY FELT QUITE CLOSE, AND SHE WAS EXTREMELY FLATTERED TO BE GIVEN AN AUDIENCE WITH THE AGING CHAIRMAN MAO. SHE REPORTEDLY FEELS ESTRANGED FROM THE CURRENT PRC REGIME BECAUSE OF ITS TREATMENT OF CHANG CHING, AND PERHAPS ALSO BECAUSE OF ITS SOMEWHAT REVISIONIST APPROACH TO MAO'S MEMORY. THUS SHE MAY BE STRIKING BACK AT THE CHINESE AS WELL. MOREOVER, SHE MAY SEE THE PRC AND U.S. AS ALLIES AGAINST THE USSR AND THUS MAY FEEL HER ACTIONS ARE HURTING BOTH OF US.

6. IN A WORD, MRS. MARCOS HAS NO IDEOLOGY. HER MOTIVA-

TION SEEMS TO BE ADVANCEMENT OF HER POLITICAL FORTUNES THROUGH ENHANCEMENT OF HER PERSONAL IMAGE. AT PRESENT SHE APPARENTLY SEES HER VISIT TO THE USSR AS HELPFUL, AND HER VISIT TO THE U.S. AND CHINESE TREATMENT OF HER FRIENDS AS HARMFUL. WE SUSPECT HER REACTION HAS BEEN MORE EMOTIONAL THAN CALCULATED. HER FRIENDLINESS TOWARD THE SOVIETS, WHILE MOMENTARILY SINCERE, IS PROBABLY LARGELY A WAY OF SHOWING HER PIQUE WITH THE U.S. AND CHINA, AND AS SUCH IT MAY WELL PASS IN FAVOR OF OTHER TACTICS. IT ALSO

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PAGE 01 MANILA 15753 02 OF 02 071116Z  
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R 070948Z SEP 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1276  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MANILA 15753

EXDIS

COINCIDES WITH OTHER CURRENT GOP INTERESTS -- BUILDING UP OF THIRD WORLD/NON-ALIGNED IMAGE, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, AROUSING CONCERN AMONG AND TWITTING AMERICANS (A USEFUL TACTIC AT TIME OF BASE NEGOTIATIONS AND, IN ANY CASE, A PERIODIC "MUST" TO DEMONSTRATE NATIONALIST CREDENTIALS OF LEADERSHIP), AND KEEPING OPEN OPTIONS FOR RELATIONS WITH USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SHE HAS BECOME A DEDICATED ADVOCATE OF PHILIPPINE-SOVIET INTIMACY, OR THAT SHE INTENDS TO MOVE THE GOP APPRECIABLY IN THAT DIRECTION. WHATEVER HER INTENTIONS, OF COURSE, SWING OF HER EMOTIONAL PENDULUM IN DIRECTION OF SOVIETS CAN, ESPECIALLY IF PROLONGED, HAVE MORE LASTING EFFECT ON THOSE IN GOP OR PHILIPPINE SOCIETY WHO LOOK TO HER FOR GUIDANCE OR INSPIRATION, INCLUDING SOME OF YOUTH. TOUSSAINT

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